

one-family affair, jealously guarded by the ruling house, the True God was the ruler, father and friend of all. His direct accessibility to men, however, proved both a boon and a bane to the Taipings. For if this conception stimulated a genuine piety in many, it also provided a dangerous weapon to a few of their leaders who claimed divine inspiration for their actions and God's sanction for their own ambitions.

Western influence can be clearly seen in some of the practices adopted by the Taipings, such as a calendar with a seven-day week and observance of the sabbath. It may have been responsible in part also for the greater equality accorded to women, the condemnation of polygamy and adultery, and the bans on slavery, foot-binding, gambling, wine, and tobacco. The coincidence, however, of a strait-laced Protestant fundamentalism with a degree of native puritanism among the Chinese peasantry (the latter reflected also in the professedly anti-Christian Communist movement of the mid-twentieth century) makes it difficult to assess precisely the degree of foreign influence.

In its combination of militant monotheism, prophetic inspiration, and drive for power in the name of God, the Taiping movement is perhaps most reminiscent of the rise of Islam in the seventh-century Near East. Where in the latter case, however, cultural traditions were less deeply rooted among the nomadic Arabs who enlisted in Muhammad's cause, even the peasant Chinese who so largely made up the forces of Hung Hsiu-ch'üan were already deeply imbued with ethical and religious traditions rooted in the past. To a considerable extent the Taipings were compelled, in spite of their early hostility to Confucianism, to compromise with many of its customs and values, or, more accurately, unconsciously to accept them without sensing any incompatibility between traditional ethics and the new faith. Such accommodations, nonetheless, proved insufficient to bridge the gap between Taiping ideology and the Chinese tradition, or to equip the revolutionary leadership for the stupendous task of ruling a mature and complex society. In the end it was the defenders of tradition and those schooled in Chinese statecraft who emerged victorious to guide China's destinies for another half-century.

#### *The Book of Heavenly Commandments (T'ien-t'iao shu)*

This text, officially promulgated by the Taiping regime in 1852, was probably written several years earlier to serve as a basic statement of the God Worshipers' creed and religious practice when they were first organized. It be-

speaks a simple and unpretentious faith, constantly reiterating the hope of Heaven and fear of hell in a manner reminiscent more of the Qur'ān than of the Bible. Much of it is devoted to forms which are to be used in the saying of prayers, grace at meals, etc., and to an explanation of the Ten Commandments. Under the latter we find provisions for segregation of the sexes, and prohibitions against opium smoking and gambling, which reflect a strong puritanical strain in the early Taiping movement.

When a translation of this work by W. H. Medhurst appeared in the English-language *North China Herald* on May 14, 1853, the editor commented: "We cannot help thinking that this is a most extraordinary document, and can see in it little to object against. Two things strike us on reading it carefully through: the one is that with the exception of occasional references to redemption by Christ and apparent extracts from the Lord's Prayer, the ideas seem to be generally taken from the Old Testament, with little or nothing from the New; the other is that it appears to be mainly a compilation drawn up by the rebels themselves, for if a Christian missionary had had anything to do with it, he certainly would not have directed the offering up of animals, wine, tea, and rice even though these offerings were presented to the Great God. As it is, we repeat, it is a most extraordinary production, and were the rebels to act up to everything therein contained, they would be the most gentle and moral set of rebels we ever met with."

The translation given here is adapted and revised from that of Medhurst as emended on the basis of other early editions of the text by members of the Modern Chinese History Project, Far Eastern and Russian Institute, University of Washington, as a part of a documentary history of the Taiping Rebellion, which is soon to be published.

[From Hsiao I-shan, *T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo ts'ung-shu*, Series I, ts'c 1, pp. 1a-2b]

Who in this mortal world has not offended against the Heavenly Commandments? If one was not aware of his offense in former times, he can still be excused; now, however, as the Lord God has already issued a gracious proclamation, henceforth whoever knows how to repent of his sins in the presence of the Lord God, not to worship false spirits, not to practice perverse things, and not to transgress the Heavenly Commandments, shall be permitted to ascend to Heaven and to enjoy happiness, and for thousands and myriads of years to enjoy dignity and honor without end. Whoever does not know how to repent of his sins . . . will most certainly be punished by being sent down to hell to suffer bitterness, and for thousands and myriads of years to suffer sorrow and pain without end. Which is gain and which is loss, we ask you to think over. Our brothers and sisters throughout the mortal world, ought not all of you to awaken

from your lethargy? If, however, you continue unroused, then are you truly base-born, truly deluded by the devil, and truly is there bliss which you do not know how to enjoy. [1a]

Now, those whose minds have been deluded by the demons always say that only the monarch can worship the Lord God. However, the Lord God is the universal Father of all in the mortal world. Monarchs are his able children, the good his filial children, the commoners his ignorant children, and the violent and oppressive his disobedient children. If you say that monarchs alone can worship the Lord God, we beg to ask you, as for the parents of a family, is it only the eldest son who can be filial and obedient to his parents?

Again it has been falsely said that to worship the Great God is to follow barbarians' ways. They do not know that in the ancient world monarchs and subjects alike all worshiped the Lord God. As for the great Way of worshiping the Lord God, from the very beginning, when the Lord God created in six days Heaven and earth, mountains and seas, man and things, both China and the barbarian nations walked together in the great Way; however, the various barbarian countries of the West have continued to the end in the great Way. China also walked in the great Way, but within the most recent one or two thousand years, China has erroneously followed the devil's path, thus being captured by the demon of hell. Now, therefore, the Lord God, out of compassion for mankind, has extended his capable hand to save the people of the world, deliver them from the devil's grasp, and lead them out to walk again in the original great Way. [1a-b]

#### A FORM TO BE OBSERVED IN REPENTING SINS

Let the suppliant kneel down in the sight of Heaven and pray to the Lord God to forgive his sins. He may use a written form of prayer, and when the prayer is over, he may either take a basin of water and wash his whole body clean, or he may perform his ablutions in the river, which will be still better. After repenting his sins, let him morning and evening worship the Lord God, beseeching that the Lord God look after him, and grant him His Holy Spirit to transform his heart. When taking his meals, he should give thanks to God, and every seventh day worship and praise God for His grace and virtue. Let him also constantly obey the ten Heavenly Commandments. Do not on any account let him wor-

ship all the false spirits that are in the world, still less let him do any of the corrupt things of the world. In this manner, the people may become the sons and daughters of the Lord God. While in the world the Lord God will look after them, and after ascending to Heaven the Lord God will graciously love them, and in high Heaven they will eternally enjoy bliss. [2a-b]

#### THE TEN HEAVENLY COMMANDMENTS

1. Honor and worship the Lord God. . . .<sup>1</sup>
2. Do not worship false gods. . . .
3. Do not take the name of the Lord God in vain. . . .
4. On the seventh day, worship and praise the Lord God for his grace. . . .
5. Be filial and obedient to thy Father and Mother. . . .
6. Do not kill or injure men. . . .
7. Do not indulge in wickedness and lewdness.

In the world there are many men, all brothers; in the world there are many women, all sisters. For the sons and daughters of Heaven, the men have men's quarters and the women have women's quarters; they are not allowed to intermix. Men or women who commit adultery or who are licentious are considered monsters; this is the greatest possible transgression of the Heavenly Commandments. The casting of amorous glances, the harboring of lustful imaginings about others, the smoking of opium, and the singing of libidinous songs are all offenses against the Heavenly Commandment.

8. Do not steal or rob.

Poverty and riches are granted by the Lord God, and whosoever steals or plunders the property of others, transgresses the Heavenly Commandment.

9. Do not tell [or spread] falsehoods.

All those who speak wildly, falsely, or treacherously, and those who use coarse and vile language transgress against the Heavenly Commandment.

10. Do not think covetous thoughts.

When a man looks upon the beauty of another's wife or daughter

<sup>1</sup>The commentary of the Taiping expositor has been omitted except for the last four commandments.

and then covets that man's wife or daughter; when a man looks upon the richness of another man's possessions and then covets that man's possessions; or when a man engages in gambling and buys lottery tickets and bets on names,<sup>2</sup> all these are transgressions of the Heavenly Commandment. [6b-8a]

*A Primer in Verse (Yu-hsüeh shih)*

This official text, first published in 1851, offers simple and concise formulations—easily put to memory—of basic religious and moral principles which the Taiping leaders wished to inculcate in their followers. Although opposed to Confucianism in so far as it was identified with the established regime or took on the appearance of a religious cult, the Taipings unconsciously accepted much that is readily recognizable as Confucian in social and political ethics.

[From Hsiao I-shan, *T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo ts'ung-shu*, Series I, t'se 4, pp. 1a-5b, 14a-b]

PRAISING GOD

The Lord God-on-High, the divine Being,  
Is respectfully worshiped in all countries.  
Men and women throughout the world,  
Pay homage to Him morning and evening.

All that we see, above and below,  
Basks in the Lord's favor.  
In the beginning it took only six days  
For the creation of all things to be completed.

Is there anyone, circumcised or uncircumcised,  
Not created by God?  
Give thanks [to Him] for the heavenly favor  
That you may obtain everlasting glory.

PRAISING JESUS CHRIST

Jesus was a Crown Prince,  
Whom God sent to earth in ancient times.

<sup>2</sup>It was a common practice of the time, especially in Kwangtung, to bet on who would succeed in the state examinations. Gambling clubs were established for this purpose. The Kwangtung government first fined such gambling and later collected a gambling tax from the clubs.

He sacrificed His life for the sins of men,  
Being the first to offer meritorious service.

It was hard to bear the Cross;  
Grieving clouds darkened the sun.  
The noble Prince from Heaven,  
Died for you—men and women.

Having returned to Heaven after His resurrection,  
In His glory, He holds all power.  
Upon Him we are to rely—  
Be saved and enter Paradise!

PRAISING PARENTS

[Just as] the storing up of grain provides against starvation,  
[So] the raising up of children provides against old age.  
He who is filial to his parents will have filial sons.  
Thus, mysteriously, is recompense made.

You should ask yourself,  
How you were able to grow up.<sup>3</sup>  
Respect the teaching of the Fifth Heavenly Commandment;  
Honor and wealth will shower down on you from the Heavenly Court.

THE IMPERIAL COURT

The imperial court is an awesome place.  
With fear and trembling heed the imperial authority as if it reached  
into your very presence.  
The power of life and death belongs to the Son-of-Heaven.  
Among the officials none should oppose Him.

THE WAY OF A KING

If one man, aloft, upholds the Right,  
The myriad states all enjoy repose.<sup>4</sup>  
Let the king alone hold power;  
And all slander and depravity will disappear forever.

<sup>3</sup>Through the loving care of your parents.

<sup>4</sup>These two lines are adapted from the opening passage of the *Book of Changes*.

## THE WAY OF A SUBJECT

The more virtuous the Master, the more honest will be His subjects.  
Wise kings produce good officials.

I [Yin] and [Duke] Chou have set the example [for ministers].  
Upholding justice, they maintained discipline at court.

## THE WAY OF THE FAMILY

Kinsfolk within the household—  
Be cheerful and happy!  
Be harmonious and united as one body,  
Blessings will shower down upon you from Heaven.

There follow similar maxims for eleven other family relationships from mother, son, etc., to older and younger sister-in-law, as well as injunctions with regard to sexual chastity and fidelity, and disciplining of the senses. For the most part these are of a traditional Chinese character, and largely Confucian, like the verses above. Finally the primer concludes with the following:

## PARADISE

Whether to be noble or mean is for you to choose.  
To be a real man you must make an effort to improve yourself.  
Follow the teaching of the Ten Commandments;  
You will enjoy the blessings of Paradise.

*The Taiping Economic Program*

The following selection is taken from *The Land System of the Heavenly Kingdom* (*T'ien-ch'ao t'ien-mu chih-tu*), which was included in the list of official Taiping publications promulgated in 1853. Its precise authorship is uncertain, and there is no evidence of a serious attempt having been made to put this system into effect in Taiping-controlled areas. Nevertheless, as a statement of Taiping aims the document carried with it all the weight of Hung Hsiu-ch'üan's authority and that of the Eastern King, Yang Hsiu-ch'ing, then at the height of his power. It reflects one of the chief appeals which the movement made to the Chinese peasantry.

The plan set forth here amounts to a blueprint for the total organization of society, and especially of its human resources. If its initial concern is with the land problem, as the title indicates, it quickly moves on to other spheres of human activity and brings them under a single pattern of control. The

basic organization is military in nature, reminiscent of the farmer-soldier militia of earlier dynasties. In its economic egalitarianism, totalitarian communism, authoritarian hierarchy and messianic zeal, this Taiping manifesto seems to foreshadow the Chinese Communist movement of the twentieth century, while at the same time it echoes reformers and rebels in the past. Most typically it recalls the fondness of earlier Chinese thinkers for what might be described as the "completely-designed" society—their vision of a neat symmetrical system embodying the supreme values of Chinese thought: order, balance, and harmony.

Nevertheless, we can appreciate how conservative Confucianists would have recoiled at the thought of so much economic regimentation. Tseng Kuo-fan, their great leader in the struggle against the Taipings, commented: "The farmer cannot till his own land and [simply] pay taxes on it; the land is all considered to be the land of the Heavenly King [and all produce goes directly to the communal treasury]. The merchant cannot engage in trade for himself and profit thereby; all goods are considered to be the goods of the Heavenly King."

The organizational note is struck at the outset with an explanation of the system of army districts and military administration (omitted here). We reproduce below only the basic economic program.

[From Hsiao I-shan, *T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo ts'ung-shu*, Series I, t'se 4, pp. 1a-3a]

All officials who have rendered meritorious service are to receive hereditary stipends from the court. For the later adherents to the Taiping cause, every family in each military district (*chün*) is to provide one man to serve as a militia man. During an emergency they are to fight under the command of their officers to destroy the enemy and to suppress bandits. In peacetime they are to engage in agriculture under the direction of their officers, tilling the land and providing support for their superiors.

All land [in the country] is to be classified into nine grades. Land that produces 1,200 catties of grain per *mu* during the two harvest seasons of the year is to be classified as A-A Land. That which produces 1,100 per *mu* during the same periods is to be classified as A-B Land; that which produces 1,000 catties is to be classified as A-C Land, 900 catties as B-A Land, 800 as B-B Land, 700 as B-C Land, 600 as C-A Land, 500 as C-B Land, and 400 as C-C Land.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> This classification of the land into nine grades follows the form found in the "Tribute of Yü" section of the *Book of History*; the general method of land allocation follows the principle set forth in the *Rites of Chou*, Ti kuan hsia (SPTK ed., 4:24).

[For the purposes of land distribution], one *mu* of A-A Land is equal to 1.1 *mu* of A-B Land, 1.2 *mu* of A-C Land, 1.35 *mu* of B-A Land, 1.5 *mu* of B-B Land, 1.75 *mu* of B-C Land, 2 *mu* of C-A Land, 2.4 *mu* of C-B Land, or 3 *mu* of the C-C Land.

The distribution of all land is to be based on the number of persons in each family, regardless of sex. A large family is entitled to more land, a small one to less. The land distributed should not be all of one grade, but mixed. Thus for a family of six, for instance, three are to have fertile land and three barren land—half and half of each.

All the land in the country is to be cultivated by the whole population together. If there is an insufficiency [of land] in this place, move some of the people to another place. If there is an insufficiency in another place, move them to this one. All lands in the country are also to be mutually supporting with respect to abundance and scarcity. If this place has a drought, then draw upon the abundant harvest elsewhere in order to relieve the distress here. If there is a drought there, draw upon the abundant harvest here in order to relieve the distress there. Thus all the people of the country may enjoy the great blessings of the Heavenly Father, Supreme Ruler, and Lord God-on-High. The land is for all to till, the food for all to eat, the clothes for all to wear, and money for all to spend. Inequality shall exist nowhere; none shall suffer from hunger or cold.

Every person sixteen or over, whether male or female, is entitled to a share of land; those fifteen or under should receive half the share of an adult. For instance, if a person of sixteen is given a *mu* of land in the A-A class, a person under that age can only receive half of that amount, namely, 0.50 *mu* of land of the same class. Or if a person sixteen or over is given 3 *mu* of C-C land, then a person fifteen or under would receive half of that, or 1.5 *mu* of C-C land.

Mulberry trees are to be planted along the walls [of villages] throughout the country. All women are required to grow silkworms, to do weaving, and to make clothes. Every family of the country is required to raise five hens and two hogs, in keeping with the proper breeding seasons.<sup>6</sup>

During the harvest season, the Group Officer<sup>7</sup> should direct [the grain collection by] the sergeants. Deducting the amount needed to feed the twenty-five families until next harvest season, he should collect the rest of the produce for storage in state granaries. The same method of collec-

<sup>6</sup> A paraphrase of *Mencius*, I A, 7.

<sup>7</sup> The *liang ssu-ma*, official in charge of each 25-family group.

tion is applicable to other kinds of products, such as barley, beans, ramie fiber, cotton clothes, silk, domestic animals, silver and copper cash, etc., for all people under Heaven are of one family belonging to the Heavenly Father, the Supreme Ruler, the Lord God-on-High. Nobody should keep private property. All things should be presented to the Supreme Ruler, so that He will be enabled to make use of them and distribute them equally to all members of his great world-family. Thus all will be sufficiently fed and clothed. That is the will of the Heavenly Father, the Supreme Ruler, the Lord God-on-High, who has dispatched the True Ruler of Great Peace to save the men of the world.

The Group Officer must keep a record of the amount of grain and cash he has collected and report them to the Treasurers and Receiving and Disbursing Tellers. A state treasury and a church are to be established among every twenty-five families, under the direct administration of the Group Officer. All expenditures of the twenty-five families for weddings, births, or other festival occasions are to be paid for out of the state treasury. But there is to be a fixed limit; not a penny is to be spent beyond that. For each festival occasion, such as a wedding or the birth of a child, a family is to be allowed 1,000 copper cash and 100 cattles of grain, so that there will be a uniform rule throughout the country. In sum, nothing should be wasted, in order that there will be provision against any exigency of war or drought. Thus, throughout the land in the contracting of marriages, wealth need be no consideration.

In the twenty-five family units pottery-making, metal-working, carpentry, masonry and other such skilled work should be performed by the sergeants and militiamen in the off-seasons from farming and military service.

In conducting the different kinds of festival ceremonies for the twenty-five families under his administration, the Group Officer should hold religious services to pray to the Heavenly Father, the Supreme Ruler, and Lord God-on-High. All the bad customs of the past must be completely abolished.

#### *The Principles of the Heavenly Nature (T'ien-ch'ing tao-li shu)*

This official work, dated 1854, was written after the Taipings had established their capital at Nanking and the first flush of victory gave way to a seeming let-down in morale, discipline, and zeal for the cause. It served to restate the religious creed of the Taipings and emphasize those qualities—self-sacrifice,

loyalty, and solidarity—which had contributed to their amazing successes. The appeal throughout is to a dedicated and crusading military elite.

Another important purpose of the book was to enhance and consolidate the position of the Taiping leadership, especially that of the Eastern King, Yang Hsiu-ch'ing, who was virtual prime minister of the regime and the one who inspired the writing of this document. We see here in a strange new garb the old conception of the ruler as commissioned with divine powers to unite the world and establish peace. Both Hung and Yang are thus represented as in some degree sharing the role of Jesus Christ as saviors of the world. Since it would not have done for any of the "kings" to engage openly in such self-glorification, nominal authorship is attributed to the "marquises" and "chancellors" who constituted the next highest ranks in the Taiping hierarchy.

Extant editions of the text appear to date from about 1858, by which time rivalries and mistrust had split the leadership, Yang had been assassinated, and his assassin, the Northern King, murdered by Hung. Though there are many direct and indirect evidences of dissension, the text has not been amended or adjusted to these later developments except to strip the Northern King of his rank.

The translation here has been adapted from that of C. T. Hu for the documentary history of the Taiping Rebellion being prepared by the Modern Chinese History Project of the Far Eastern and Russian Institute, University of Washington.

[From Hsiao, *T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo ts'ung-shu*, ts'e 5, pp. 1-37]

With regard to human life, reverence for Heaven and support of the Sovereign begin with loyalty and uprightness; to cast off the devil's garb and become true men—this must come about through an awakening. Now, the Heavenly Father and the Heavenly Elder Brother have displayed the heavenly favor and specially commanded our Heavenly King to descend into the world and be the true Taiping sovereign of the ten thousand states of the world; they have also sent the Eastern King to assist in court policy, to save the starving, to redeem the sick, and, together with the Western and Northern Kings, [Wei] Ch'ang-hui,<sup>8</sup> and the Assistant King, to take part in the prosperous rule and assist in the grand design. As a result, the mortal world witnesses the blessings of resurrection, and our bright future is the symbol of renewal. [1a-b]

We marquises and chancellors hold that our brothers and sisters have been blessed by the Heavenly Father and the Heavenly Elder Brother,

<sup>8</sup> Former King of the North who, having assassinated the Eastern King and in turn been murdered by Hung, was no longer referred to by his title when this edition was published.

who saved the ensnared and drowning and awakened the deluded; they have cast off worldly sentiments and now follow the true Way. They cross mountains and wade rivers, not even ten thousand *li* being too far for them to come, to uphold together the true Sovereign. Armed and bearing shield and spear, they carry righteous banners that rise colorfully. Husband and wife, men and women, express common indignation and lead the advance. It can be said that they are determined to uphold Heaven and to requite the nation with loyalty. [2a-b]

You younger brothers and sisters have now experienced the heavenly days of Great Peace (Taiping), and have basked in the glory of the Heavenly Father, the Supreme Ruler and Lord God-on-High. You must be aware of the grace and virtue of the Heavenly Father, the Supreme Ruler and Lord God-on-High, and fully recognize that the Heavenly Father, the Supreme Ruler and Lord God-on-High, is alone the one true God. Aside from the Heavenly Father, the Supreme Ruler and Lord God-on-High, there is no other god. Moreover, there is nothing which can usurp the merits of the Heavenly Father, the Supreme Ruler and Lord God-on-High. In the ten thousand nations of the world everyone is given life, nourished, protected, and blessed by the Heavenly Father, the Supreme Ruler and Lord God-on-High. Thus the Heavenly Father, the Supreme Ruler and Lord God-on-High, is the universal father of man in all the ten thousand nations of the world. There is no man who should not be grateful, there is no man who should not reverently worship Him. Have you not seen the Heavenly King's "Ode on the Origin of Virtue and the Saving of the World," which reads: "The true God who created Heaven and earth is none but God; all, whether noble or mean, must worship Him piously"? This is precisely our meaning! [4a-5a]

There follow citations from the Confucian Classics referring to the Lord-on-High (*Shang-ti*) which are taken here as showing that God was known to and worshiped by the ancient Chinese. Subsequently, however, various forms of idolatry arose.

However, worldly customs daily degenerated. There were even those who likened themselves to rulers, and, being deluded in heart and nature, arrogant yet at fault, and falsely self-exalted, forbade the prime minister and those below to sacrifice to Heaven. Then [these men] com-

peted in establishing false gods and worshipping them, thus opening up the ways of the devilish demons. The people of the world all followed in like fashion, and this became firmly fixed in their minds. Thereupon, after a considerable time, they did not know their own errors. Hence the Heavenly Father, the Lord God, in view of mortal man's serious crime of disobedience, at his first anger, sent down forty days and forty nights of heavy rain, the vast waters spreading in all directions and drowning mortal man. Only Noah and his family had unceasingly worshiped the Heavenly Father, the Supreme Ruler and Lord God-on-High; therefore, relying on the heavenly grace, they were fortunate and they alone were preserved. In this, the first instance of the Heavenly Father's great anger, was the great proof of his great powers displayed.

After the Flood, the devilish king of Egypt, whose ambition was mediocrity and who was possessed by the demons, envied the Israelites in their worship of God and bitterly persecuted them. Therefore, the Heavenly Father in his great anger led the Israelites out of Egypt. In this, the second instance of the Heavenly Father's great anger, was the great proof of his great powers displayed.

However, the rulers and people of that time still had not completely forgotten the heavenly grace. But since the emergence of Taoism in the Ch'in [dynasty] and the welcoming of Buddhism in the Han [dynasty], the delusion of man by the demons has, day by day increased, and all men have forgotten the grace and virtue of the Heavenly Father. The Heavenly Father's merits were falsely recognized as the merits of demons. Therefore, the Heavenly Father, observing this from above, saw that the people of the mortal world followed the demons and were being transformed into demons; strange and peculiar, they were no longer men. The Heavenly Father once again became greatly angered; yet if he were to annihilate them completely, he could not bear it in his heart; if he were to tolerate them, it would not be consonant with righteousness. At that time, the elder son of the Heavenly Father, the Heavenly Elder Brother Jesus, shouldered the great burden and willingly offered to sacrifice his life to redeem the sins of the men of the world. The Heavenly Father, the Supreme Ruler and Lord God-on-High, sincere in his pity for the world and profound in his love for man, spared not his eldest son, but sent him down to be born in Judea, and to redeem our sins in order to propagate the true Way. At the time of his redemption of our

sins, he was falsely accused and nailed upon the cross, so that mortal man could rely upon his precious blood and be cleansed of all sin. Thereby did he make complete the grace of the Heavenly Father, who had sent him down to be sacrificed for the world. [6a-7a]

Let us ask your elder and younger brothers: formerly the people sacrificed only to the demons; they worshiped the demons and appealed to the demons only because they desired the demons to protect them. Yet how could they think that the demons could really protect them? Let us consider one example. During a drought, no man failed to worship the demons and to pray for rain. Certainly they did not realize that this is all within the power of the Heavenly Father; when He decrees a drought, a drought follows; when He decrees rain, rain follows. If the Heavenly Father did not decree sweet rain, then even though they worshiped the demons of the mortal world, one and all, still the drought would continue as before. A popular saying has it: "If beating a drum can bring rain, then mountain peaks can be opened to cultivation;<sup>9</sup> if the burning of incense can bring protection, then a smoking kiln can satisfy opium smokers; if a vegetarian diet can bring immortality, then bulls can ascend to heaven; if taking opium can satiate hunger, then a fart can fertilize a field." Another popular saying goes: "The bean curd is only water, the king of hell is only a demon." In view of this, it can be seen that the demons are not responsive and are unable to protect men. The people pray for rain, yet they cannot send down rain. To worship them is of no avail. However, the men of the world sank even deeper, not knowing how to awaken themselves. Therefore, the Heavenly Father again became angry.

In the *ting-yu* year [1837], our Heavenly Father displayed the heavenly grace and dispatched angels to summon the Heavenly King up to Heaven. There He clearly pointed out the demons' perversities and their deluding of the world. He also invested the Heavenly King with a seal and a sword; He ordered the Savior, the Heavenly Elder Brother Jesus, to take command of the heavenly soldiers and heavenly generals and to aid the Heavenly King, and to attack and conquer from Heaven earthward, layer by layer, the innumerable demons. After their victory they returned to Heaven and the Heavenly Father, greatly pleased, sent

<sup>9</sup>That is, it is as unlikely that beating a drum could bring rain as that mountain peaks could be cultivated.

the Heavenly King down upon the earth to become the true Taiping Sovereign of the ten thousand nations of the world, and to save the people of the world. He also bade him not to be fearful and to effect these matters courageously, for whenever difficulties appeared, the Heavenly Father would assume direction and the Heavenly Elder Brother would shoulder the burden. [8a-9a]

Several instances are then given of the way in which God's power was manifested in the triumphant campaigns of the Taiping forces, and of how His will was made known to them. The account concludes with these episodes:

In the *jen-tzu* year [1852], at Yung-an-chou, our food supplies were almost exhausted, nor was there even any red powder [gunpowder]. The demons, several hundred thousand in number, rank upon rank, encircled the city from all directions. There was no avenue of escape. By this time the devilish demons knew of our situation and became unusually fierce, all believing their plan would succeed. In the third month, the Heavenly Father greatly displayed his powers and ordered us younger brothers and sisters, one and all, to uphold the true Sovereign and attack Kuei-lin. We then moved the camps and broke through the encirclement; and, because the Heavenly Father had changed our hearts, we one and all with utmost energy and disregard for our persons struck through the iron passes and copper barriers, killing innumerable devilish demons, and directly arrived at the Kwangsi provincial capital. Thereupon Kuei-lin was encircled. Later, because the people of the city came out and spoke to the Eastern King, reporting that the city granaries were empty and that provisions were deficient, the Eastern King, seeing that their strength was exhausted, showed great mercy and immediately ordered a temporary lifting of the siege until another good plan of attack could be contrived.

You all should know of the Heavenly Father's power, his omniscience, omnipotence, and omnipresence. Why was it that the one city of Kuei-lin alone could not be attacked and secured? This was because our Heavenly Father secretly made it so—something not easily understood by man.

Thereafter, from Kuei-lin we moved on to capture Hsing-an, Ch'üan-chou, Tao-chou, Ch'en-chou, and other moated cities. Wherever the Heavenly Army went, battles were won and objectives taken; wherever

it went, the enemy scattered, our strength being as [irresistible as] a knife splitting bamboo. We moved from Ch'en-chou to Ch'ang-sha; the latter city was attacked several times, and again we rushed by the city; this also was the result of the Heavenly Father's having secretly willed it so. If the army had entered Ch'ang-sha and had been stationed there long, then the boatmen at I-yang and other places along the river, being unable to avoid the trickery and intimidation of the demons, would have had to flee to distant localities. How then could we have obtained boats for a million brave soldiers, that we might float downstream to capture Wu-ch'ang? From this we can see that our Heavenly Father's power secretly made it so.

From Wu-ch'ang to Chin-ling [Nanking] the land extends as far as a thousand *li*; how strategic and important are the passes and river crossings, and how strong and firm are the cities and moats! To attack and capture the cities seemed difficult; even if victory could have been secured, it appeared that it would take a very long time. Yet in not more than one month's time, we had followed the stream eastward from Wu-ch'ang, passing Kiangsi, crossing Anhwei, and pushing directly up to Chin-ling, without the least resistance. After reaching this provincial capital, we found the height and thickness of the city walls and the vastness of the land to be indeed twice that of other provincial cities; to attack it seemed far more difficult. Who would have known that within ten days one single effort would bring success? Chin-ling was captured with our hands hanging at our sides. Had it not been for our Heavenly Father's power, how could things have been so quick and easy? From this we can again see the Heavenly Father's power to predetermine things. [12b-14a]

There follow accounts of the individual Taiping leaders showing how each triumphed over adversities and suffered great hardships in order to advance the cause.

Even the Eastern King in his holiness and the several Kings in their eminence had to undergo cleansing and polishing and repeatedly demonstrate great fortitude before they could enjoy true happiness. How much more must we elder and younger brothers preserve our fortitude in order that we may seek abundant blessings. Do we not see the Heavenly King's edict which says: "All things are predetermined by the Heavenly Father

and the Heavenly Elder Brother; the ten thousand hardships are all the Heavenly Father's and Heavenly Elder Brother's means of testing our hearts; thus each of us must be true-hearted, firm and patient; we must cleave to the Heavenly Father and the Heavenly Elder Brother"? The Heavenly King has also said: "How can it be easy to ascend to Heaven? The first prerequisite is patience of mind and will. You will certainly ascend to Heaven if you are resolute at heart." [17a-b]

Recollecting the past, from the righteous uprising in Chin-t'ien to the capture of Chin-ling, we have received great mercy from our Heavenly Father and Heavenly Elder Brother; we have established our Heavenly Capital and in a few years we have been able to enjoy the great happiness of our Heavenly Father. All this has been due to the work of our Heavenly Father and our Heavenly Elder Brother, who alone can bring such speedy results. Hence, if, with additional efforts toward improvement and perfection, we, with united hearts, combine our strength for the immediate extermination of the demons, our Heavenly Father will display his great powers and instantaneously the seas and lands will be cleared and the hills and rivers united under one command. Then our younger brothers and sisters will be reunited with their families, and blood relations will again be together. How fortunate that will be! [19a-b]

There follows a long section dealing with disobedient and traitorous officers who serve as object lessons of the futility of deserting or betraying the Taiping cause. It is shown how God, who knows and sees all, revealed their wicked designs to the Taiping leaders. Thus their cowardice and self-seeking brought them only the most severe punishment.

We brothers and sisters, enjoying today the greatest mercy of our Heavenly Father, have become as one family and are able to enjoy true blessings; each of us must always be thankful. Speaking in terms of our ordinary human feelings, it is true that each has his own parents and there must be a distinction in family names; it is also true that as each has his own household, there must be a distinction between this boundary and that boundary. Yet we must know that the ten thousand names derive from the one name, and the one name from one ancestor. Thus our origins are not different. Since our Heavenly Father gave us birth and nourishment, we are of one form though of separate bodies, and

we breathe the same air though in different places. This is why we say: "All are brothers within the four seas."<sup>10</sup> Now, basking in the profound mercy of Heaven, we are of one family. Brothers and sisters are all of the same parentage; as all are born of one Spiritual Father, why should there be the distinctions of "you and I," or "others and ourselves"? When there is clothing, let all wear it; when there is food, let all eat of it. When someone is ill, others should ask a doctor to treat him and take care of his medicine. We must treat parentless boys and girls and persons of advanced age with more care, bathing them and washing and changing their clothes. Thus we will not lose the idea of sharing joys and sorrows, as well as mutual concern over pain and illness. Safety for the old, sympathy for the young, and compassion for the orphaned, all emerge from the Eastern King's understanding of our Heavenly Father's love for the living and from the Heavenly King's treating all as brothers and fellow beings. [27b-28b]

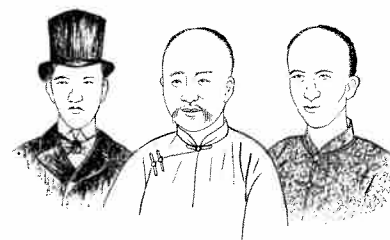
As for [maintaining] our brothers' peace in the camps, everyone must be kind, industrious, and careful. When the skies are clear the soldiers should be drilled, and when it rains the heavenly books should be read, clearly expounded, and mutually discussed, so that everybody will know the nature of Heaven and forever abide by the true Way. If the demons advance, at the first beat of the signal drums, everyone must hurriedly arm himself with gun, sword, or spear, and hasten to the palace to receive orders. In charging forward, each must strive to be in the front, fearing to be left behind, and none must shirk responsibilities. Thus will we be of one virtue and of one heart. Even if there are a million demons, they will not be hard to exterminate instantly. [28b-29a]

We brothers, our minds having been awakened by our Heavenly Father, joined the camp in the earlier days to support our Sovereign, many bringing parents, wives, uncles, brothers, and whole families. It is a matter of course that we should attend to our parents and look after our wives and children, but when one first creates a new rule, the state must come first and the family last, public interests first and private interests last. Moreover, as it is advisable to avoid suspicion [of improper conduct] between the inner [female] and the outer [male] and to distinguish between male and female, so men must have male quarters and women must have female quarters; only thus can we be dignified and avoid

<sup>10</sup> *Analects*, XII, 5.

confusion. There must be no common mixing of the male and female groups, which would cause debauchery and violation of Heaven's commandments. Although to pay respects to parents and to visit wives and children occasionally are in keeping with human nature and not prohibited, yet it is only proper to converse before the door, stand a few steps apart and speak in a loud voice; one must not enter the sisters' camp or permit the mixing of men and women. Only thus, by complying with rules and commands, can we become sons and daughters of Heaven. [29a-30a]

At the present time, the remaining demons have not yet been completely exterminated and the time for the reunion of families has not yet arrived. We younger brothers and sisters must be firm and patient to the end, and with united strength and a single heart we must uphold God's principles and wipe out the demons immediately. With peace and unity achieved, then our Heavenly Father, displaying his mercy, will reward us according to our merits. Wealth, nobility, and renown will then enable us brothers to celebrate the reunion of our families and enjoy the harmonious relations of husband and wife. Oh, how wonderful that will be! The task of a thousand times ten thousand years also lies in this; the happiness and emoluments of a thousand times ten thousand years also lie in this; we certainly must not abandon it in one day. [37b-38a]



趙啓基 馬有庚 同副理

## CHAPTER XXVI

### *REFORM AND REACTION UNDER THE MANCHUS*

The defeat of the Taipings was only one of the more hopeful signs for the Manchus in the early 1860s, after two decades of defeat and near-disaster for the dynasty. The foreign occupation of Peking in 1860 had been followed by a reorganization of leadership at court, with stronger and more flexible men rallying forces loyal to the dynasty and working toward better relations with the foreign powers. The new diplomatic missions established in the capital and foreign concessions in treaty ports up and down the coast, though forced upon the court originally, had now made it both necessary and possible for the Chinese to come into closer contact with Westerners—contacts which slowly and imperceptibly widened their horizons on the world. In the provinces able commanders like Tseng Kuo-fan, Tso Tsung-t'ang, and Li Hung-chang, who had shown great personal resourcefulness and determination in suppressing the rebels and had even demonstrated a readiness to adopt Western guns and naval vessels for use against the Taipings, continued individually to promote modernization projects which would strengthen their military positions and enhance the basis of their own regional power.

If, to Western observers, these developments suggested some hope for China's future, to the Chinese there were other grounds for encouragement—enough to justify calling this period a “revival” or “restoration” in the life of the nation and the ruling dynasty. In foreign relations, the Chinese could at most be gratified by a respite from the constant pressure of the Western powers; a widening of foreign influence, certainly, was nothing to congratulate themselves upon. In internal affairs, however, they could observe with satisfaction the restoring of peace and stability after several major revolts (besides the Taipings, the Nien rebellion